

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00145 111529Z

51

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W

----- 097670

O P 111405Z APR 75

FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2551

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0145

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 11, 1975

(SALT TWO -608)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF APRIL 11, 1975.

QUOTE:

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
APRIL 11, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

WE HAVE CAREFULLY EXAMINED THE SOVIET STATEMENT OF APRIL 2,
1975, WHICH INDICATES THAT THERE IS A DIFFERENCE OF VIEW BETWEEN
THE U.S. AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS AS TO THE DATE WHEN THE SIDES
WOULD BE EXPECTED TO CONFORM WITH OBLIGATIONS ASSUMED UNDER THE
TERMS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE 2,400 AGGREGATE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00145 111529Z

LIMITATION. TODAY I WANT TO ADDRESS THIS SUBJECT AND MAKE THE

U.S. POSITION CLEAR.

I

THE PERIOD TO BE COVERED BY THE NEW AGREEMENT WAS AGREED AT VLADIVOSTOK AND STATED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE AS BEGING "THE PERIOD FROM OCTOBER 1977 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1985." THE AIDE-MEMOIRE FURTHER STATES "DURING THE TIME OF A NEW AGREEMENT EACH OF THE SIDES WILL BE ENTITLED TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER OF DELIVERY VEHICLES OF STRATEGIC ARMS NOT EXCEEDING 2,400." THUS, UNDER THE TERMS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, BOTH SIDES ARE REQUIRED TO HAVE THEIR FORCES WITHIN THE AGREED LIMITATION NO LATER THAN THE DATE THIS OBLIGATION ENTERS INTO FORCE; NAMELY, OCTOBER 3, 1977. THIS OBLIGATION HAS BEEN CLEARLY SET FORTH IN ARTICLE III OF THE U.S. DRAFT.

THE SOVIET SIDE, IN ITS STATEMENT OF APRIL 2, REFERRED TO THE FACT THAT THE AIDE-MEMOIRE ALSO STATES THAT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER 1977 AND ASSERTED THAT "AN AGREED PERIOD OF TIME", AS STATED IN ARTICLE XI OF THE SOVIET DRAFT, MUST BE ALLOWED FOR TRANSITION TO THE LEVELS PROVIDED IN THE NEW AGREEMENT.

THE U.S. SIDE DOES NOT DISPUTE THAT THE INTERIM AGREEMENT IS TO REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER 3, 1977. THE ISSUE IS HOW TO DEAL WITH THE TRANSITION FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT TO THE NEW AGREEMENT WHICH WILL TAKE EFFECT ON THAT DATE. WITH OCTOBER 3, 1977 AS THE DATE ON WHICH THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMIT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT COMES INTO EFFECT, THEN, DEPENDING UPON THE CHOICES MADE BY EACH SIDE, THE NUMBER OF SYSTEMS DEPLOYED BY ONE OR BOTH OF THE SIDES JUST PRIOR TO OCTOBER 1977 MAY BE LESS THAN THE MAXIMUM CEILINGS PERMITTED UNDER THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THIS CERTAINLY WOULD NOT BE CONTRARY TO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THIS CERTAINLY WOULD NOT BE CONTRARY TO THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT WOULD BE CONTRARY TO THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD TO HAVE MORE THAN 2,400 SYSTEMS IN THE AGGREGATE AFTER OCTOBER 3, 1977.

HOWEVER, APART FROM THE LANGUAGE OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, IN A SITUATION SUCH AS THIS, WHERE ONE COURSE LEADS TO HIGHER LEVELS
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00145 111529Z

OF STRATEGIC ARMS AND ANOTHER TO LOWER LEVELS, THE CHOICE IS CLEAR. WE SHOULD FAVOR LOWER LEVELS. IT WOULD BE INDEFENSIBLE IF, HAVING ACCOMPLISHED OUR OBJECTIVE OF SIGNING AN AGREEMENT IN 1975, EITHER THE UNITED STATES OR THE SOVIET UNION WERE NOT TO ADJUST ITS FORCES TO THE 2,400 LIMIT WITHIN THE EXTENDED PERIOD AVAILABLE TO THEM BEFORE OCTOBER 1977.

II

THE SOVIET SIDE HAS ASSERTED THAT THE SITUATION WHICH WILL ARISE IN OCTOBER 1977 IS ANALOGOUS TO THAT WHICH EXISTED WITH RESPECT TO THE ABM TREATY IN 1972 AND THAT A PRECEDENT WAS THUS ESTABLISHED FOR A MUTUALLY AGREED TRANSITION PERIOD. THE U.S. SIDE DOES NOT AGREE THAT THESE SITUATIONS ARE ANALOGOUS AND, TO THE EXTENT THAT SIMILARITIES EXIST, WE BELIEVE THEY SUPPORT THE VIEW THAT THE SIDES SHOULD BE AT THE AGREED LEVELS NO LATER THAN OCTOBER 3, 1977. IN THE CASE OF THE ABM TREATY, THE PROCEDURES UNDER WHICH EXCESS COMPONENTS WERE TO BE DESTROYED DID NOT EXIST AT THE TIME THE TREATY ENTERED INTO FORCE, AND THERE WAS NO LEAD-TIME BETWEEN SIGNING THE ABM TREATY AND THE TIME ITS OBLIGATIONS CAME INTO EFFECT. ON THE DATE OF SIGNING THE TREATY, THE UNITED STATES IMMEDIATELY HALTED CONSTRUCTION ACTIVITY ON THE FACILITIES AT THE MALMSTROM ABM SITE AND ELSEWHERE. MOREOVER, THE U.S. ACTUALLY COMPLETED DESTRUCTION BY MAY 1974, TWO MONTHS BEFORE DISMANTLING AND DESTRUCTION PROCEDURES WERE FORMALLY ADOPTED IN THE SCC.

THE SITUATION WHICH WILL EXIST IN OCTOBER 1977 IS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THAT WHICH EXISTED WITH THE ABM TREATY. IF WE ACHIEVE OUR OBJECTIVE OF SIGNING THE AGREEMENT IN 1975, THERE WILL BE A CONSIDERABLE INTERVAL OF TIME BETWEEN THE SIGNING OF THE NEW AGREEMENT AND THE EFFECTIVE DATE OF THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION. PROCEDURES FOR THE DESTRUCTION AND DISMANTLING OF SYSTEMS LIMITED UNDER THE 2,400 AGGREGATE CEILING EITHER EXIST OR COULD BE FORMULATED BY THE SCC WELL BEFORE 1977. THERE IS NOTHING IN THE ABM EXPERIENCE TO SUPPORT A CLAIM THAT DESTRUCTION AND DISMANTLING INCIDENT TO AN AGREEMENT SIGNED IN 1975 SHOULD NOT BE COMPLETED BY OCTOBER 3, 1977.

III

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SALT T 00145 111529Z

MR. MINISTER, THE VLADIVOSTOK ACCORD AS EMBODIED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT IS TO COVER THE PERIOD BEGINNING OCTOBER 1977. IT STATES, FURTHERMORE, THAT THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION OF 2,400 WILL BE IN FORCE "DURING THE TIME OF AN EW AGREEMENT", NOT FOR JUST PART OF THE TIME. IN THE VIEW OF THE U.S., THIS PERMITS NO INTERPRETATION OTHER THAN THAT THE SIDES MUST ADJUST THEIR FORCES TO BE IN COMPLIANCE WITH THIS AGREED LIMITATION ON OCTOBER 3, 1977, AND WE SEE NO EXISTING PRECEDENT, LEGAL BASIS, OR PRACTICAL REASON WHY THIS CANNOT BE ACHIEVED.
UNQUOTE JOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: AGREEMENTS, NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, AIDE MEMOIRE, NUCLEAR DELIVERY VEHICLES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00145
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750127-0207
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750458/aaaacbjl.tel
Line Count: 165
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2003 by WorreISW>; APPROVED <19 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 11, 1975 (SALT TWO -608)
TAGS: PARM, UR, US
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006